

Accra Parley Demands End to Racism, Foreign Rule in Africa

CONVENING THIS MONTH for their first high level talks in history, the eight independent states of west and northern Africa gave special attention to the Algerian war as a "threat to international peace and the security of Africa." The member states called on France to withdraw her troops, recognize the principle of Algerian independence and enter immediate negotiations with the rebel Algerian National Liberation Front with a view to reaching a "final and just settlement."

Meeting in Accra, top diplomats of Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, the Sudan, Tunisia and the United Arab Republic at the same time:

- Agreed that all colonial powers in Africa should announce definite dates for the independence of their territories,

- Recommended the rendering by the participating independent states of "all possible assistance" to the remaining dependent peoples of Africa in their "struggle for self-determination and independence,"

- Referred "with abhorrence" to recent statements by the Prime Minister of South Africa on racial discrimination and condemned discrimination and segregation in South Africa, the Central African Federation, Kenya and other parts of Africa,

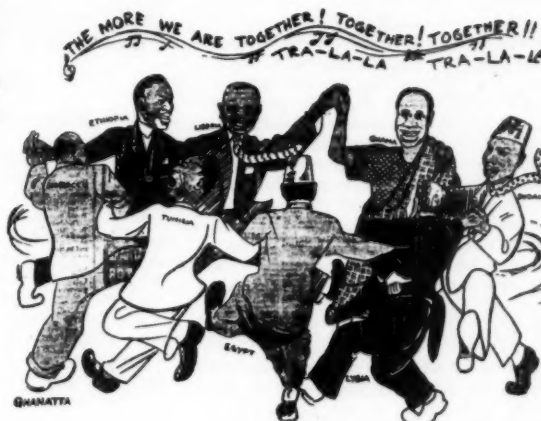
- Expressed "grave concern" over electoral laws in French Togoland and condemned the use of French military forces "against the unarmed people" of the Cameroons,

- Proclaimed a desire to pursue a "common foreign policy," important features of which are abstention from collective defense arrangements designed to serve "particular interests of any of the big powers," non-entanglement in actions detrimental to their own interests, and assertion of an "African personality" in international affairs.

- Appealed to the great powers to stop the production and testing of nuclear weapons, called for a "just solution" to the Palestine question and expressed concern over the problem of South-West Africa.

- Called for cooperation on economic, cultural and social matters and recommended steps toward improving communications and internal trade with a view to making the continent of Africa an economic unit.

The economic resolutions cover a range of proposals of potential consequence to Africa, including establishment of a Joint Economic Research Commission among the participating states, formulation of common policies on foreign investment,



Evening News, Accra, April 17, 1958

utilization of Africa's mineral resources in ways more advantageous to Africa's peoples, and possible eventual establishment of an African common market.

Foreign ministers headed most of the delegations attending the historical meeting in Ghana's Parliament House. It had been expected that a number of heads of state would participate, but the only one to arrive was President Tubman of Liberia. Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana presided over the meetings.

The member nations agreed to reconvene at least every two years and accepted an Ethiopian invitation to hold the next meeting in Addis Ababa.

It was announced that permanent machinery to carry on the work of the conference will operate through the participating states' United Nations delegations in New York.

The conference will be followed later this year by an unofficial meeting in Accra of nationalist leaders from African areas still under foreign rule. The meeting, scheduled to take place in September, will be the sixth "Pan-African Conference" and the first to be held on African soil. No official mention of the meeting was reported at this month's conference, and the degree of assistance to be offered by the independent states was a matter of wide speculation.

Although the conference membership was limited to independent states, a three-man Algerian

(See CONFERENCE, Page 10)

MAIL BAG

To the Editor:

Under the title "Gikonyo Kiano: New Kikuyu Leader?" Mr. Hempstone has made statements in the *Africa Special Report* issue of January 1958 which must not be left unanswered. I am writing this letter from Ghana but wish to make it known that my attention was drawn to this article by Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, who felt as I do that it would tend to introduce unnecessary tensions and petty jealousies in the political struggle of our people in Kenya.

This is not a joint letter but I can safely say that Dr. Kiano and myself are in agreement in principle as to our objective and attitude in the Kenya struggle. It is a contradiction of terms that Mr. Hempstone should seek to inject tribalism in his interpretation of our various positions by referring to Dr. Kiano as a New Kikuyu Leader and to me as a Luo Leader, and this despite that fact that Dr. Kiano is reported as telling him that we were all committed to fighting to break down tribalism! Your readers may wish to know that in my election to the legislature over 70% of those who voted in the elections were NOT of my LUO tribe; and further that all along during the emergency I have been identified with the struggle for the rights of the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru tribesmen whose areas were greatly affected by the emergency and among whom I am proud to say I enjoy the highest possible confidence.

Your readers may also wish to know that my colleagues and myself have been variously honoured by tribal groups other than our own for the part we are playing in the struggle for the freedom of our people and country. These are facts that Mr. Hempstone did not have to look for since they are plainly visible for any visitor to see. He would also have known that Dr. Kiano's house is constantly full of young men and women of all tribes seeking advice on further education etc. I am really disappointed that Mr. Hempstone should have so



MBOYA

deliberately sought to mislead your readers.

Mr. Hempstone also refers to an alleged impending struggle between Dr. Kiano and myself and goes on to refer to our intellectual capacities. In my humble submission Mr. Hempstone is entitled to his own assessment of my intellectual ability, but I must very emphatically point out that Dr. Kiano and myself not only agree on the objective in our struggle for Kenya's freedom, but work together and mutually consult almost daily on our various problems and tactics. We believe that unity is the keynote to our success and that the interest of our people and country is above any of our individual or personal feelings, likes or dislikes. We know from bitter experience that the White Settlers would only be too delighted to see a rift in the African leadership.

I take very strong exception to Mr. Hempstone's statements and particularly regret that he should be guilty of this apparently deliberate mischievous attitude after the efforts we have continuously made to welcome all and any American visitors to our country and homes. We do not resent critical friends, but I can not but suggest such criticism should be constructive and helpful.

May I thank Mrs. Kerina for her contribution in the last issue.

Yours sincerely,
Tom Mboya, M.L.C.

MR. TOM MBOYA is a member of the Kenya Legislative Council and the general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labor.—Ed.

To the Editor:

With regard to Mr. Smith Hempstone's article I would like to make it known that Mr. Tom Mboya is a personal friend of mine whose political accomplishments I greatly admire and whose leadership has been most praiseworthy. As such I entertain no ideas of being his rival and I consider the comparison of his intelligence and mine to be in bad taste. With all respect to Mr. Hempstone, and his ability as a reporter, I must say that his ref-

erence to Mr. Tom Mboya and myself failed to take into consideration the excellent performance of Mr. Mboya both as a political leader and a Trade Unionist. I have great respect for Mr. Mboya and I look forward to being his political and personal colleague for many years to come.

Yours sincerely,
Kiano

MR. GIKONYO KIANO is on the faculty of the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and is a newly-elected member of the Kenya Legislative Council.—Ed.

QUOTES FROM THE AFRICAN POLITICAL PRESS

Nationalist leader Julius Nyerere in "Sauti Ya Tanu," organ of the Tanganyika African National Union:

"I have heard people complain against the appointment of our new Governor from Kenya. They say Tanganyika is in great need of change and they do not see any sign of change if our new Governor has the qualities attributed to him . . .

"I do not agree with these people. If a Colonial Governor is not an Arden-Clarke (last Governor of the Gold Coast) then the more embedded he is in the 19th century the better. To such a one Democracy is Bolshevism and gradual reform is Revolution. This makes the work of the Nationalists much easier. This is not cynicism, but common sense based on experience."

From "Chapupu," organ of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress:

"Immigrants from Europe into the Central African Federation will find that certain words and phrases which have a fixed meaning in their home countries have an equally fixed but quite different meaning in Central Africa. The following concise list has therefore been drawn up for the guidance of all new Rhodesians:

Democracy: Government of a Black majority by a White minority.

Franchise: A device for ensuring that democracy, as defined above, shall remain the system of Government in Central Africa for the foreseeable future.

Partnership: A political system existing in a multiracial society where the blacks are kept permanently subservient to the whites but are persuaded that this is not the case.

Racialist: Any African who thinks that Africans ought to be the dominant group in Central Africa.

Non-racialist: Any European who thinks that Europeans ought to be the dominant group in Central Africa.

Inter-racialist: A kind of European who believes that Africans will be content to accept European domination in Central Africa if the cleaner Africans are occasionally invited to take tea in European homes.

AFRICA SPECIAL REPORT is published monthly at 1234 20th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Cable: AFRAM, WASHINGTON
Editorial Staff:
Robert C. Keith, Chief
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Africa Special Report welcomes but cannot assume responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts.
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Articles in Africa Special Report are independently selected and edited by the editorial staff and do not necessarily reflect the views of the African-American Institute or its membership. Responsibility for accuracy of facts and opinions expressed rests solely with individual correspondents and staff writers.

SUBSCRIPTION PRICE: \$1 per year by surface mail anywhere in the world. Air Rates: U. S. \$3.00; Foreign \$4.90.

Application for Second Class mail privileges pending at Washington, D. C.

Summary of Key Resolutions

The following is a summary of the principal resolutions adopted at the Accra Conference.

FOREIGN POLICY

"Having a unanimity of fundamental aims and principles, desiring to pursue a common foreign policy with a view to safeguarding the hard-won independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the participating states," and "deploring the division of the greater part of the world into two antagonistic blocs," the conferees affirmed a number of "fundamental principles," including "unswerving loyalty" to the United Nations charter, settlement of all international disputes by peaceful means, and "abstention from the use of arrangements of collective defense to serve the particular interests of any of the big powers."

The conference affirmed its "conviction that all participating governments shall avoid being committed to any action which might entangle them to the detriment of their interest and freedom," and expressed the belief that "as long as the fundamental unity of outlook on foreign policy is preserved, the independent African states will be able to assert a distinctive African personality which will speak with a concerted voice in the cause of peace in cooperation with other peace loving nations at the United Nations and other international forums."

FUTURE OF DEPENDENT AFRICAN TERRITORIES

"Recognising that the existence of colonialism in any shape or form is a threat to the security and independence of the African states and to world peace; considering that the problems and the future of dependent territories in Africa are not the exclusive concern of the colonial powers but the responsibility of all members of the United Nations and in particular of the independent African states, convinced that a definite date should be set for the attainment of independence by each of the colonial territories in accordance with the will of the territories and the provisions of the charter of the United Nations," the conference "calls upon the administering powers to respect the charter of the United Nations in this regard, and to take rapid steps to implement the provisions of the charter and the political aspirations of the people, namely self-determination and independence, according to the will of the people."

"Calls upon the administering powers to refrain from repression and arbitrary rule in these territories and to respect all human rights as provided for in the charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."

"Calls upon the administering powers to bring to an end immediately every form of discrimination in these territories."

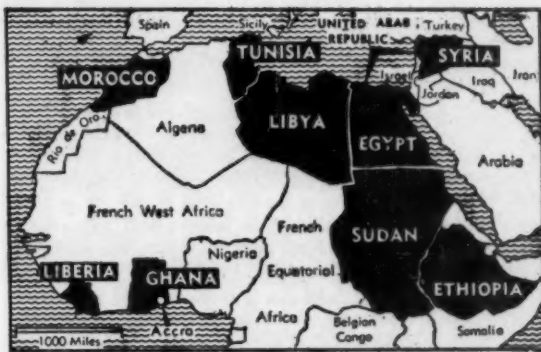
"Recommends that all participating governments should give all possible assistance to the dependent peoples in their struggle to achieve self-determination and independence."

"Recommends that the independent African states assembled here should offer facilities for training and educating people of the dependent territories."

"Decides that the 15th April of every year be celebrated as African Freedom Day."

THE QUESTION OF ALGERIA

"Deeply concerned by the continuance of war in Algeria and the denial by France to the Algerian people of the right of independence and self-determination despite various United Nations resolutions and appeals urging a peaceful settlement, notably



New York Herald Tribune map by Charles Kavenagh

the offer of good offices made by the Moroccan and Tunisian heads of state; considering that the present situation in Algeria constitutes a threat to international peace and the security of Africa in particular," the conference "recognizes the right of the Algerian people to independence and self-determination, deplors the grave extent of hostilities and bloodshed resulting from the continuance of the war in Algeria," and "urges" France:

"To recognize the right of the people of Algeria to independence and self-determination."

"To put an end to the hostilities and to withdraw all her troops from Algeria."

"To enter into immediate peaceful negotiation with the Algerian Liberation Front with a view to reaching a final and just settlement."

The conference "appeals to all peace-loving nations to exercise pressure on France to adopt a policy which is in conformity with the principles of the charter of the United Nations; appeals to the friends and allies of France to refrain from helping France whether directly or indirectly in her military operations in Algeria; affirms its determination to make every possible effort to help the Algerian people towards the attainment of independence; recommends that the representatives of the independent African states at the United Nations be instructed by their various governments to consult each other constantly and acquaint members of the United Nations with the true state of affairs in Algeria and solicit their support for a just and peaceful settlement and to recommend to the independent African states measures which may from time to time become necessary to be taken and in particular find ways and means whereby the independent African states may enlighten world opinion on the Algerian situation including the appointment of a mission as soon as possible to tour the capitals of the world to enlist world support of governments."

RACIALISM

"Considering that the practice of racial discrimination and segregation is evil and inhuman; deeply convinced that racialism is a negation of the basic principles of human rights and dignity to the extent where it is becoming an element of such explosiveness which is spreading its poisonous influence more and more widely in some parts of Africa that it may well engulf our continent in violence and bloodshed; noting with abhorrence the recent statement made by the head of the South Afri-

(Continued on Next Page)

SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

(Continued From Preceding Page)

can Government on his re-election to the effect that he will pursue a more relentless policy of discrimination and persecution of the coloured people in South Africa," the conference:

"Condemns the practice of racial discrimination and segregation in all its aspects all over the world, especially in the Union of South Africa, in the Central African Federation, Kenya and in other parts of Africa.

"Appeals to the religious bodies and spiritual leaders of the world to support all efforts directed towards the eradication of racialism and segregation.

"Calls upon all members of the United Nations and all peoples of the world to associate themselves with the resolutions passed by the United Nations and the Bandung Conference condemning this inhuman practice.

"Calls upon all members of the United Nations to intensify their efforts to combat and eradicate this degrading form of injustice.

"Recommends that all participating governments should take vigorous measures to eradicate where they arise vestiges of racial discrimination in their respective countries."

STEPS TO SAFEGUARD INDEPENDENCE

"Believing that the getting together and consulting among independent African states, as in the present Conference of Accra, is essential for the effectiveness of their contribution to world peace," the conference declared "the determination of all participating governments to respect the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of one another; to cooperate with one another to safeguard their independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, to cooperate in their economic, technical and scientific developments and in raising the standard of living of their respective peoples; to resort to direct negotiations to settle differences among themselves and if necessary to conciliation or mediation by other African independent states," and condemned "all forms of outside interference directed against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the independent African states."

TOGOLAND UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

The conference "expresses grave concern regarding the present electoral laws and system of the territory, strongly urges that the administering authority will cooperate fully with the United Nations commissioner in order to ensure fair and democratic elections in the territory."

CAMEROONS UNDER FRENCH ADMINISTRATION

The conference "condemns the use of military forces against the unarmed people in the Trust Territory of the Cameroons under French administration as contrary to the spirit of the United Nations; calls upon the administering powers to comply with the charter of the United Nations and satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people concerned by opening negotiations with their representatives; appeals to the United Nations to intensify its efforts in helping the people of the Cameroons to achieve their legitimate political aspirations."

ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL MATTERS

"Having discussed the economic and social conditions in their respective countries; considering that these countries have great and various economic resources, mineral, agriculture and animal; con-

sidering the present economic conditions in these countries are not exploited to the full advantage of the African peoples; considering that there are now possibilities for commercial exchange between independent African states and that these possibilities should be greatly encouraged; considering that steps should be taken to bring about economic emancipation in these countries; considering that hitherto non-African forces have arbitrarily divided the African continent into economic regions, and that the conference does not recognize this division; considering further that Africa could be developed as an economic unit; noting that the incorporation of dependent African territories in the economic systems of colonial powers is not in the best interests of these peoples," the conference recommended to its participating states:

"The establishment within each independent African state an economic research committee to survey economic conditions and to study economic and technical problems within the state, and

"The establishment of a Joint Economic Research Commission, which would:

"a) coordinate information and exchange of views on economic and technical matters of various independent African states,

"b) find measures whereby trade among African countries could be developed and encouraged,

"c) make proper and detailed investigation as to possibilities of coordinating economic planning in each state towards achievement of all-African economic cooperation,

"d) find ways and means for common industrial planning within African states and possibilities of making available mineral resources and other African products among African states,

"e) lay down proposals by which independent African states can receive foreign capital and employ foreign exports, and

"f) encourage cooperation with other countries in such a manner as not to affect their independence, sovereignty and unity."

The conference further called on its member states "to take steps in order to connect and exchange knowledge and technological information among themselves; to establish joint African enterprises; to hold economic conferences and African exhibitions; to strengthen their cooperation with specialized agencies of the UN and especially with the newly proposed economic commission for Africa; to make joint efforts as far as practicable; to construct means of communications between African States; to investigate the possibility of eventually establishing an African Common Market; to provide facilities for exchange of labour and labour information and to encourage cooperation among national trade union organizations; to strengthen cooperation with the International Labor Organization; to take joint action for prevention of diseases among human beings, in agriculture and in animal husbandry, and to act against the ravages of locusts; to ensure the establishment of equitable social and economic policies which will provide national prosperity and social security for all citizens."

* * * *

REFERRING TO CULTURAL MATTERS, the conference asserted that "colonialism is prejudicial to national culture and as such hinders any possible cultural cooperation." The conference resolution "recommends to all participating members:

"To promote and facilitate the exchange of teachers and professors

"To encourage the establishment of cultural

(Continued on Page 10)



GEORGE PADMORE

SPECIAL SECTION

RISE OF THE PAN-AFRICAN MOVEMENT

Nkrumah's Advisor Backs "Dynamic Nationalism" As Alternative to Communism in Africa

By ST. CLAIR DRAKE

THE behind-the-scenes organizer of this month's conference in Accra is West Indian Negro writer and theoretician George Padmore. Prime Minister Nkrumah's official advisor on African Affairs and a leading proponent of the ideology of Pan-Africanism.

A little over two decades ago, Padmore was one of International Communism's top specialists on world Negro movements. In the early '30's, however, Padmore was thoroughly disillusioned with Moscow's "colonial liberation" movement. By 1935 he was out of it entirely.

Today, Padmore helps shape the African policies of Ghana. His personal writings vigorously expose the shame of Communist tactics and strongly urge Pan-Africanism as an "ideological alternative to Communism on the one side and Tribalism on the other."

Pan - Africanism means many

things to many people. To Padmore, the vision of Pan-Africanism "stretches beyond the limited frontiers of the nation-state" and embraces the "federation of regional self-governing countries" into an ultimate "United States of Africa." Padmore's Pan-Africanism "rejects both white racialism and black chauvinism" but looks above the "narrow confines of class, race, tribe and religion," seeking instead "equal opportunity for all."

Padmore feels the only force capable of achieving these objectives in Africa and providing an effective alternative to Communism is dynamic nationalism, working to establish political democracy and an essentially socialist economic system. Padmore urges unity among the nationalist movements of Africa and advocates concerted, non-violent action to eliminate foreign rule and white domination from the continent.

George Padmore's views take on a particular significance this month as the non-white independent states meet in Accra at a conference arranged under his personal guidance.

Padmore sets forth his ideology for Pan-Africanism in a book published in 1956, *Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa*.^{*} The foreword is written by Richard Wright, the American Negro novelist, who describes Padmore as "the greatest living authority on the fervent nationalist movements sweeping Black Africa today." Indeed, says Wright, "George is the veritable ideological father of many of the nationalist movements in Black Africa, having been the mentor of scores of African nationalist leaders who now hold or will soon hold power."

The high degree of respect with

^{*} Dobson Books Limited, London, W8 England 1956.

which Padmore is regarded by Kwame Nkrumah is indicated in the Prime Minister's autobiography published last year. When Nkrumah arrived in Britain in 1945 after ten years of work and study in the United States, Padmore was the first person he met. "I was so impressed by his writings that I wrote a letter to him from the States introducing myself and asking whether he would be able to meet me at Euston Station when I arrived," Nkrumah writes. "He did much to help me during my early days in London, and the more I knew him and talked with him, the more I respected his integrity and his knowledge of the colonial question."

Both are self-assured "dedicated" men, but frank and honest in their statement of goals and objectives. Their zeal is tempered, however, by a streak of pragmatic realism. They both have the capacity to laugh—either sympathetically or sardonically—at men and events, including themselves and their own actions. Both are effective on the public platform and enjoy the interplay between themselves and a sympathetic crowd. They are intensely loyal to old friends. It was inevitable that they would like each other.

Within a month after his arrival in London, Nkrumah was busily at work as Joint Organizing Secretary with Padmore for the Fifth Pan-African Congress which met in Manchester in October, 1945. Five years later Nkrumah, as Prime Minister, invited his old friend to come out to Africa to write *The Gold Coast Revolution*. Padmore has been a regular contributor to the Convention People's Party press in Ghana, as well as an interpreter and vigorous defender of Nkrumah's program before the British public. It has been evident for the past decade that Dr. Nkrumah has continued to like him and respect



DR. DRAKE is Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and chairman of the Committee of African Studies at Roosevelt University in Chicago. He made an extensive study of the Pan-African Movement under a Rosenwald Fund grant in Britain, 1947-48. He was visiting professor at the University of Liberia in 1954 and a Ford Foundation Fellow in Ghana, 1954-55.

NKRUMAH ON PAN-AFRICANISM

"From now on it must be Pan-African nationalism, and the ideology of African political consciousness and African political emancipation must spread throughout the whole continent, into every nook and corner of it."

—From *Ghana, the Autobiography of Kwame Nkrumah, 1957.*

him. We can assume that he sometimes *listens* to him, too.

Padmore's present task is to assist Nkrumah in evolving Ghana's foreign policy in relation to the rest of Africa. The dimensions of Padmore's assignment are suggested in this passage of Nkrumah's autobiography: "It is our duty as the vanguard force to offer what assistance we can to those now engaged in the battles that we ourselves have fought and won. Our task is not done and our safety is not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept from Africa."

It is Padmore's job to help work out a program of non-violent "Positive Action" and "Tactical Action" on a continent-wide scale. The decision as to how fast and how far Ghana can go toward assisting African independence movements is, of course, not his to make. The Conference of Independent States which meets in Accra this month will consider this problem among others. The forthcoming Sixth Pan-African Congress in Accra will deal almost exclusively with this question. George Padmore has been serving as Nkrumah's counselor and "roving ambassador" in helping to lay the groundwork for both of these meetings.

Padmore is an intellectual serving as an adviser to a practical administrator. Nkrumah, who has never been known to wear any other man's ideological collar, is eclectic and pragmatic, as well as independent. It is obviously impossible to know just how much of his friend's full program of Pan-Africanism he would, or could, accept. He has repeatedly emphasized that Ghana's development will not be sacrificed for any kind of doctrinaire allegiances. Yet, however much he may have to modify the details, or even the basic outlines, of Pan-Africanism as presented by Padmore, one suspects that Nkrumah, working as he is amid the "relativities of his-

tory," draws considerable inspiration from the ideology of his friend.

* * *

PADMORE's most succinct explanation of his philosophy may be found in the introduction of his book where he states:

Pan-Africanism seeks the attainment of government of Africans by Africans for Africans with respect for racial and religious minorities who desire to live in Africa on a basis of equality with the black majority. Economically and socially Pan-Africanism subscribes to the fundamental objectives of Democratic Socialism, with state control of the basic means of production and distribution. It stands for the liberty of the subject within the law and endorses the Fundamental Declaration of Human Rights with emphasis upon the Four Freedoms.

Proponents of "partnership" in the multi-racial societies certainly cannot accept the idea of "black domination" implicit in this concept of Pan-Africanism. Many businessmen, and some of Ghana's more conservative political leaders (and, no doubt, President Tubman and Haile Selassie), are repelled by this talk of "Democratic Socialism." To Padmore, however, this aspect of Pan-Africanism is essential, for he believes that:

... The only force capable of containing Communism in Asia and Africa is dynamic nationalism based upon a socialist program of industrialization and co-operative methods of agricultural production.

His conception of socialism is a loose and flexible one, however, which suggests that:

... the main sector of the national economy should be state controlled since there is not enough local capital available to undertake large scale enterprises. But the rest should be left to private initiative. The Africans must be encouraged to do things for themselves and not just sit back and expect government to do everything for them. The emphasis must be upon Self-Help.

"Pan-Africanism," Padmore continues:

... recognizes much that is true in the Marxist interpretation of history since it provides a rational explanation for a good deal that would otherwise be unintelligible. But it nevertheless refuses to accept the pretentious claims of doctrinaire communism that it alone has the solution to all the complex racial, tribal, and socio-economic problems facing Africa.

It rejects also the Communist intolerance of those who do not subscribe to its everchanging party line even to the point of liquidating them as "enemies of the people." Democracy and brotherhood cannot be built upon intolerance and violence.

Non-violent "Positive Action," rather than terrorism or insurrection, is a basic tenet of Pan-Africanism.

Padmore does not claim to be "detached" or "objective" although he has a healthy respect for facts. He is interested in a Free Africa and sees his writings as weapons in the struggle—not as literary works or scholarly tomes. He believes that Africans will have to use non-violent pressure tactics to force white settlers in northern, eastern, central, and southern Africa to let the African majority have dominant political power. He opposes the tendencies of French intellectuals to accept "assimilation" or continued loyalty to the idea of a French union. He thinks they should throw their lot in with a federated West Africa. He feels that the French colons probably will not give in to non-violence. The M.R.A., the Communists, "Tribalism" and the chiefs, British liberals, all feel the weight of his verbal blows or his light thrusts of ridicule. Surprisingly enough, the Belgians come in for a bit of praise. Glowing tribute is paid to Europeans who have aided in Africa's struggle.

Not everyone who knows Padmore or who reads the book will be a wholly enthusiastic admirer, for George Padmore is a "controversial figure." Few are acquainted with his personal history. (Many people confuse him with his namesake, the present Liberian ambassador to the United States—to the embarrassment of both.)

* * *

AFTER ATTENDING Fisk and Howard Universities, Padmore went to Moscow in the early Depression years where his zeal, intelligence and verbal facility soon made him a lecturer at the University of the Toilers of the East. He eventually became chairman of the Negro Bureau of the Profintern (an international labor subsidiary of the Comintern) and Executive Secretary of the International Trade Union Committee of Negro Workers, as well as editor of the international magazine, *The Negro Worker*.

A surprisingly large number of people concerned with African affairs either do not know, or will not

Quotes from Padmore

From "Pan-Africanism or Communism," 1956

ON TRIBALISM:

"Despite the precautionary measures of the West African Governments, Communism, in my opinion, is no immediate threat to African national unity. Tribalism, on the other hand, is a present menace. For it can be, and is being, exploited by unscrupulous politicians to spread disunity and separatism among the more politically backward sections of the people, and undermine the forces working for national integration. The only force which can combat this danger effectively is Pan-Africanism which advocates the formation of democratically-based nation-wide political parties on a non-tribal, non-regional membership . . .

"While it is true that the colonizing European powers did not create Tribalism, they cannot escape the responsibility for keeping it alive. By holding back the industrialization of the colonies, which alone can liberate the Africans from their conservative traditions and prejudices and open up wider vistas, Africa is today facing tremendous difficulties of rapid transition from tribal and feudal society to modern nationhood based on parliamentary democracy . . .

"The traditional African way of life needs a cataclysm to free it from its own decay. It is the newly emancipated younger generation of Africans with a detribalized outlook, who, under the stimulus of Western political ideas and technocracy, alone can bring about the necessary regeneration . . ."—pp. 372-373.

ON U. S. AID:

" . . . if America, the 'foremost champion and defender of the free world' is really worried about Communism taking root in Africa and wants to prevent such a calamity from taking place, I can offer an insurance against it. This insurance will not only forestall Communism, but endear the people of the great North American Republic for ever to the Africans. Instead of underwriting the discredited system of Colonialism by bolstering up the European regimes, especially in North, Central and South Africa, with military and financial aid, let American statesmen make a bold gesture to the Africans in the spirit of the anti-Colonialist tradition of 1776.

"This gesture should take the form of a Marshall Aid program for Africa . . ."—p. 375.

ON WHITE SETTLEMENT:

"As for white colonization, it can maintain itself only with outside military support. The white man in East and Central Africa has forfeited the loyalty and goodwill of the Africans, who no longer have illusions about professions of 'trusteeship' and 'partnership' . . ." p. 21.

"The problem of European settlements in East, Central and Southern Africa can be solved only by the creation of a common citizenship for all the races—indigenous and immigrant—on the basis of absolute equality for Africans in Church and State. There is no other solution since Africans are not going to tolerate being treated as inferiors in their own lands . . ."—p. 19.

believe, that Padmore "broke with the Reds" about twenty-five years ago, while many Western liberals were still "fellow-traveling." Communist Party wheel-horses, on the other hand, can never forgive him for ridiculing them as "Red Uncle Toms." The very small group of African Communists and near Communists resents the frank and caustic manner in which he deals with them—often by name—in his speaking and writing.

Youngsters who are flirting with Prague and Moscow still wince at his statement that "Until African Communists learn to love their country in the same way that Russian comrades love Russia, they deserve to be treated with contempt by

their fellow countrymen." Most of these youngsters would agree with his statement that "No self-respecting African wishes to exchange his British master for Russian ones," but some of them feel they can nibble at the cheese without getting mouse-trapped. In season and out, Padmore tries to explain the facts of political life to them and to "sell" them on Pan-Africanism.

Padmore's break with the Communists in the early '30's reflected the conflict between his "Africa First" policy and their "Russia First" policy. In Communist eyes Padmore had a fatal case of "national deviationism." It also involved an intellectual's scorn for

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cut-and-dried dogma. Padmore has always praised the Russian people for their lack of race prejudice and the Communists for improving the lot of the Asian peoples in the U.S.S.R.; but he feels that the cost in other values has been too high—civil liberties and human dignity, for instance. He warns us that the oppressed colonial peoples may not have his reservations, however. Padmore feels that the scourge of African politics, today, is "Tribalism." Given the new Moscow line now emerging, that "tribes" are the *real national units* in Africa (e.g. Ashanti, Fante, Ewe, and Ga in Ghana), we may expect a sharp attack from Padmore's corner. Padmore has made his own position on Communism quite clear and states it in Pan-Africanism or Communism in the following form:

Negroes are keenly aware that they are the most racially oppressed and economically exploited people in the world. They also are very much alive to the fact, demonstrated by the opportunistic and cynical behavior of the Communists, that the latter's interest in them is dictated by the ever-changing tactics of Soviet foreign policy rather than by altruistic motives. Their politically minded intellectuals know that the oppressed Negro workers and peasants are regarded by the Communists as "revolutionary expendables" in the global struggle of Communism against Western capitalism.

Many of these "politically minded intellectuals" first gained this knowledge by listening to Padmore's always graphic and occasionally humorous account of his own experience with the international Communist movement. (There are those who credit Jomo Kenyatta's consistent resistance to Communist blandishments to his close friendship with, and deep respect for, Padmore over a period of many years.)

Many scholarly "Africanists," most white civil servants, and many conservative Negroes just don't care for George Padmore. His cocky self-assurance and his obvious contempt for many of their values as well as his love of ideological argument peppered with ex-Marxist terminology get on their nerves. But his friends tend to adore him and to see these "weaknesses" as mere forgivable foibles.

Whether one likes or dislikes Padmore is unimportant. But to discount him as a powerful ally in the struggle against Communism in Africa is to make a fatal mistake.

HISTORY OF PAN-AFRICANISM

Out of World-Wide Negro Movement, A Plan for Federation of Africa Evolves

PAN-AFRICANISM grew out of the social conditions created during the past 400 years by migration, mobility and the rapid expansion of communication. The world-wide demand for labor during this time has scattered peoples of African descent all through the New World and has catapulted the African masses long distances from their village homes into the cities and mining compounds of the African continent.

From 1500 to 1900, Pan-Africanism was merely the "informal organization of memories" by people who found themselves a long way from home. It led American Negroes to name their churches African Methodist Episcopal or Abyssinian Baptist. It led West Indians to retain names like *fu fu* for their food and *Cudjo* for their children. It meant that Brazilians continued to worship the Yoruba Shango in their "candombles" and Haitians merged the "voudoun" of Dahomey with Catholicism. Negroes everywhere fused African music and dancing with that from Europe. There was a consciousness among New World Negroes that they were scattered fragments of viable cultures and living peoples back home in Africa. The reactions to this fact among individuals ranged from positive affirmation to violent psychological rejection. For a very few children of the "Black Diaspora", there was an "Ingathering of the Exiles" to Liberia and Sierra Leone.

With the abolition of slavery from 1833 onward, and the increasing European penetration of Africa, scattered peoples within Africa became conscious of the essential inter-relatedness of physique and culture throughout the continent. African consciousness began to exist side by side with ethnic consciousness. Thus it was that separatist churches in South Africa began to call themselves Ethiopianist or that the wars in Zululand became of interest to people in Ashanti. Pan-Africanism took on a new dimension, the dream of indigenous African states someday united together.

Curiosity about "the dispersed African millions" in the New World began to spread through Africa, as well as knowledge about them and sometimes pride in their achievements. And thus it is, today, that

"mammy wagons" deep in the Northern Territories of Ghana may be named "Joe Louis" or "Sugar Ray"; that Lena Horne becomes a cover girl on the South African magazine, "Drum"; that a Kikuyu in Kenya writes a Pittsburgh Negro weekly for a pen pal; or that schoolboys approach American Negroes on the street in Ghana saying "Are You American, please? And when will our brothers be coming home?" Pan-Africanism of this sort is what makes Accra go wild when Satchmo comes to town, or leads the Ghana delegate to the U.N. to remind the world that the treatment of Negroes in America is felt as a concern of Ghana's, too.

Pan-Africanism is also the force that caused Jomo Kenyatta to be built up as a hero in the American Negro press; that has sent a trickle of American Negro school teachers and technicians out to the New Africa; and which causes people of African descent in the New World to react sometimes with shame and sometimes with pride over what they learn about Africa, for whether they like it or not they realize that they are identified to some extent with Africa by the White World. Negroes in America are coming to see that when African faces become a familiar sight at the U.N. or in the consulates of our country, it will do something to their own status, too.

Until 1945, Pan-Africanism was centered in the New World and was highly racialistic in its world view. Out of Jamaica to America came Marcus Garvey in the 20's crying "One God! One Aim! One Destiny!" and organizing about three million



GETTING ACQUAINTED — Prime Minister Nkrumah visits President Tubman of Liberia in 1952.

Negroes into a "Back to Africa Movement." Nkrumah says that "The Philosophy and Opinions of Marcus Garvey" played a great part in orienting him toward being a nationalist leader. Perhaps it is no accident that Ghana has christened its first shipping company The Black Star Line, the name of Garvey's unsuccessful maritime venture. The myth of Garvey spread through Africa like wildfire. Crowds camped out at Calabar waiting for Garvey's planes to drop supplies. "Be proud you're black." — "Think black." This was Garvey's message.

Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, the Negro intellectual who organized four Pan-African Congresses in the immediate post-war years, was dominated by the idea that "The Problem of the Twentieth Century is the Problem of the Color Line", and that the bond of solidarity between the people of African descent is primarily symbolized by color. The "Father of Pan-Africanism"* has stated his own aims:

My plans as they developed had in them nothing spectacular nor revolutionary. If in decades or a century they resulted in such world organization of black men as would oppose a united front to European aggression, that certainly would not have been beyond my dream.

Meanwhile, however, young Africans were graduating from schools on every continent and were finally drawn into the vortex of the Second World War. The center of gravity of Pan-Africanism shifted from New World intellectuals and mass leaders to the African people themselves and their leaders.

The Fifth Pan-African Congress which met in Manchester in October 1945 marked a turning point in modern African history. In the chair was Dr. DuBois, symbol of Negro achievement and of Pan-African pioneering. But the initiative was in the hands of African trade unionists who had come for an international meeting; Gold Coast businessmen who helped to pay the bills; and history-makers of the future such as Jomo Kenyatta and Kwame Nkrumah (who was Joint Organizing Secretary along with George Padmore).

On British soil, these delegates took a vow to "liberate" Africa from

* There is reportedly a desire to have Dr. DuBois, now 90 years old, present as a symbol at the Sixth Pan-African Congress in Ghana. He refuses, however, to sign a "non-Communist affidavit" and cannot get a U. S. passport. African leaders generally honor him as "Father of Pan-Africanism," despite disagreement with his pro-Soviet stand.

colonialism and to do it by Gandhian non-violence. But there are some people in Africa who are not Negroes, so race would not be the broadest organizing concept. As Nkrumah has phrased it, "Garvey's nationalism was black nationalism as opposed to African nationalism." A new concept was born, and the theoretician of the movement, George Padmore, in defining Pan-Africanism has phrased it thus:

It rejects both white racialism and black chauvinism. It stands for racial co-existence on the basis of absolute equality and respect for human personality. Pan-Africanism looks above the narrow confines of class, race, tribe, and religion. In other words it wants equal opportunity for all. . . . Its vision stretches beyond the limited frontiers of the nation-state. Its perspective embraces the federation of regional self-governing countries and their ultimate amalgamation into a United States of Africa. . . . In such a commonwealth, all men, regardless of tribe, race, color or creed shall be free and equal.

Racialistic Pan-Africanism remains as an important subsidiary ideology binding American Negroes and West Indians to the cause of African advancement, but the concept of Padmore and Nkrumah and Kenyatta and of the Fifth Pan-African Congress was something new. The accent was on African residence, not race, as a unifying bond. Not all the African nationalist leaders have risen to this perspective as yet, and certainly the rank and file in many places think primarily in terms of black and white. But these Pan-Africanists are pleading for an Africa in which Arab, Negro, Jew, Syrian, Lebanese, European settler all live together in complete social, political, and economic equality. When non-Negroes reject this perspective the onus for the racialism which results—and sometimes the violence—falls squarely upon their heads.

The core of Pan-Africanism today is the organization of Africans in Africa. Africans overseas and peoples of African descent are only the auxiliaries who give moral support. And so it is that a group of African intellectuals in Paris publish "Presence Africaine"; that Dr. Horace Mann Bond and a group of American Negro scholars have recently formed an American Society for African Culture. One does not want to overestimate the strength of Pan-African sentiments, sporadic and unco-ordinated as they are, but it is fatal to any understanding of Africa today if one ignores them. —St. Clair Drake.



JOMO KENYATTA

Now in prison in Kenya for his activities during Mau Mau, Kenyatta helped set up headquarters for the Pan-African Federation in England, 1945.

Colonel Ewart Grogan, Kenya white settler, writes in the forthcoming book, *Rhodesia and East Africa*:

"Of the Africans of my time only one will live in history—Jomo Kenyatta. Anyone who can view these matters objectively and has read Jomo's writings must have, in the light of happenings in Ghana, a measure of sympathy for one who undoubtedly is a great African patriot as seen from the African angle. He might well have followed in the wake of Dr. Nkrumah had it not been for the presence of a solid phalanx of British settlement and the essentiality of East Africa to Western strategy."

Controversial Pan-Africanists

W. E. B. DUBOIS (below, left), American Negro "Father" of Pan-Africanism, wrote in 1957 that the "rise of the socialized states" in Africa "will supplant the poverty and ignorance which Europe and America, through trader, merchant, investor and missionary, have forced upon helpless peoples. . ." Africa, he said, is "readying itself to learn from the Socialism of the Soviet Union and its allied states. . ." MARCUS GARVEY (below, right), organized "Back to Africa" movement in 1920's, admitted his doctrines were based on racial fascism.



SUMMARY OF RESOLUTIONS

(Continued From Page 4)

centers in each other's country on the approval of the country in which such a center may be established and in conformity with its laws, regulations and practices.

"To encourage and facilitate exchange of their students, each providing a certain number of scholarships for students from other African countries.

"To facilitate exchange of exhibitions, educational, scientific and cultural material including books, periodicals, bulletins, audio visual aids and other cultural and educational material.

"To ensure that syllabuses of history and geography applied in the schools and educational institutions of each include such material as may help to give each student an accurate information of the way of life and culture in other African countries.

"To spare no efforts to revise history and geography text books and syllabuses used in their schools with a view of removing any incorrect information due to colonial or other foreign influences.

"To coordinate their school systems at all levels and to recognize the certificates, diplomas and degrees awarded by their educational institutions and universities of equivalent status.

"To encourage reciprocal visits by their different organizations of youths, teachers, press, labor, women, artists, sports etc., granting them all possible facilities.

"To strive to include principal African languages in the curriculum of secondary schools and colleges with a view to facilitating the cultural cooperation envisaged.

"To hold inter-African periodic and adhoc conferences for their educators, scientists, men of letters, journalists, etc., with a view to discussing common problems and to extend all possible facilities for such purposes.

"To conclude mutual cultural agreements among them for promotion of cultural cooperation.

"To encourage in their universities and institutes of higher learning research on African culture and civilization, creating fellowships for this purpose.

"To encourage establishment of African publishing centers and to make concerted efforts to publish an African journal edited and contributed to by Africans introducing Africa's culture, civilization and development to the world and to various African countries.

"To set up an annual prize for works which promote closer solidarity among African states, and ideas of liberty, friendship and peace, and which disseminate knowledge about African civilization and culture.

"To encourage translation of books dealing with African culture and civilization into their principal languages, creating fellowships for this purpose.

"To establish an annual inter-African sports meeting and an annual youth festival.

"To set up each in its respective country, a local organization whose functions will be promotion and development of cultural cooperation among African countries.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY

The conference resolution:

"Calls upon the great powers to discontinue production of nuclear and thermonuclear weapons and to suspend all such tests not only in the interest of world peace but as a symbol of their avowed devotion to the rights of man.

"Views with grave alarm and strongly condemns all atomic tests in any part of the world and in particular the intention to carry out such tests in the Sahara.

"Appeals to the great powers to use atomic, nuclear and thermonuclear energy exclusively for peaceful purposes.

"Affirms the view that reduction of conventional armaments is essential in the interest of international peace and security and appeals to the great powers to make every possible effort to reach settlement of this important matter.

"Condemns the policy of using the sale of arms as a means of exerting pressure on Governments and interfering in the internal affairs of other countries.

"Expresses its deep concern over the non-compliance with UN resolutions.

"Urges the UN to ensure that African nations are represented equitably on all international bodies concerned with problems of disarmament.

"Considers that meeting and consultation on international affairs should not be limited to big powers.

"Calls upon member states to respect such resolutions, and urges a just solution of outstanding international problems.

"Expresses its deep concern over the question of Palestine which is a disturbing factor of world peace and security, and urges a just solution of the Palestine question.

"Expresses its deep concern over Southwest Africa and similar questions which are disturbing factors of world peace and security, and urges a just solution to them.

PERMANENT MACHINERY

"Convinced that a machinery for consultation and cooperation is essential," the conference:

"Decides to constitute the permanent representatives of the participating governments at the United Nations as the informal permanent machinery"

a) for coordinating all matters of common concern to African states;

b) for examining and making recommendations on concrete practical steps which may be taken to implement decisions of this and similar future conferences; and

c) for making preparatory arrangements for future conferences of the independent African states;

"Agrees that meetings of Foreign Ministers and other ministers or experts be convened from time to time to study and deal with particular problems of common concern to African states.

"Agrees that a Conference of Independent African States should be held at least once every two years.

"Agrees that the next conference shall be held within the next two years and accepts the kind invitation of the Government of Ethiopia to hold the next conference in Addis Ababa."

**NKRUMAH URGES AFRICAN MACHINERY
TO SOLVE IRREDENTIST PROBLEMS;
CALLS FOR 'TOTAL LIBERATION' OF CONTINENT**

PRIME MINISTER NKRUMAH of Ghana suggested that the independent African states consider setting up some kind of machinery of their own for solving the frontier disputes, tribal quarrels and racial and religious conflicts which Africa may face in the years ahead.

Addressing the opening session of the Accra Conference April 15, Dr. Nkrumah told the delegates that "we must leave no stone unturned in our endeavors to lessen tensions in Africa."

He said the African states would be in a position to exert moral pressures elsewhere "to the extent that we are able by our own exertions and examples to maintain peace and friendship within our own states and our continent."

He termed Africa's irredentist problems a "legacy of arbitrary division of Africa in past years" whereby artificial boundaries separate peoples, tribes and even families. "Colonialism's best chance of survival", and one of its techniques for maintaining domination, is the instigation of quarrels and wars among the small nations, he warned.

Dr. Nkrumah called for the elimination of racialism in Africa and urged the participating states to set an example of tolerant multiracial communities based on universal adult suffrage. Racialism, he said, "not only injures those against whom it is used but warps and perverts the very people who preach and protect it, and when it becomes the guiding principle in the life of any nation as it has become in some other parts of Africa then that nation digs its own grave."

Noting that "there are on the continent of Africa more dependent territories than independent sovereign nations," he asserted that the free independent states have a responsibility to hasten Africa's "total liberation."

"In this continent the dynamic forces of African nationalism can only be resisted by resorting to armed force such as we are now witnessing in Algeria," he declared. "In the inflammatory conditions of the present time it is no longer possible to treat such colonial conflicts in isolation. The sovereignty and independence of Tunisia and Morocco are already involved in this tragic war and if it is not brought to speedy termination it may well lead to a greater conflagration with tragic results for us all."

Dr. Nkrumah called for mutual cooperation in trade arrangements, in educational and social service projects, and in study and development of the resources of Africa "so that the standard of living of our peoples can be raised." Referring to the great capital expenditure required by the great development schemes which have been proposed for various parts of Africa, Dr. Nkrumah said that here was a "special opportunity" for cooperative action between the African states themselves and also between these states and other peace-loving nations outside Africa.

"It is obvious that these schemes must involve foreign assistance and investment," he said. "We shall welcome such opportunities for cooperative action provided that returns from such projects are fairly shared" and the independence and sovereignty of the African countries "are fully respected."

Sounding a conference keynote in his official welcome, Dr. Nkrumah said that if in the past the Sahara divided the participating powers, now it unites them, and "from this conference must go out a new message: 'Hands off Africa.' Africa must be free."

news briefs

● **WHITE VOTERS** in South Africa endorsed five more years of racial "apartheid" April 16, returning Prime Minister Strijdom's Nationalist Party to office with a larger number of parliamentary seats and a widened margin of popular votes.

The "Wats" won 103 seats, a gain of 7. It will be their third successive term in office, something unprecedented in South African political history. The rival United Party, which advocated more moderation in the implementation of segregation, won 53 seats, a gain of one. United Party leader Sir de Villiers Graff lost his own seat. Crushing defeats were delivered to the Labor and Liberal parties which advocate racial equality, and the South African Parliament was left without any splinter or independent representation for the first time.

● **IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA**, newly-designated Prime Minister Sir Edgar Whitehead was defeated by 87 votes April 16 in a special by-election in Bulawayo. He immediately dissolved Parliament and scheduled a general election in Southern Rhodesia June 5 to resolve the resulting impasse. The Southern Rhodesia voting is distinct from the general election which is due to be held throughout the entire Central African Federation this fall.

Sir Edgar lost, 691 to 604, to Jack Paine, a candidate of the Dominion Party which is regarded as segregationist in outlook. His defeat revived the uncertainty which has characterized Southern Rhodesian political life since the precipitation of a cabinet crisis in January and the subsequent ouster of liberal Prime Minister Garfield Todd. Party leaders chose Sir Edgar in February to be Todd's successor.

● **SEVEN AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS** of the Kenya Legislative Council were served with summonses April 15 as they arrived at Parliament Buildings for the opening of the present session.

They were Tom Mboya, M. Muliro, A.P. Odinga, L.G. Ogunjam, D.T. Arap Moi, J.M. Munimi and R.G. Ngala. Each received two summonses, one reportedly alleging criminal libel and the other charging conspiracy to commit a misdemeanor. The London Times said the summonses were thought to result from a statement by the Africans March 26 urging a boycott of any African who stood for one of the specially chosen seats authorized by Kenya's new constitution.

Police with drawn truncheons were called to guard the opening of the session after 300 African gathered in the roadway, but no violence was reported.

Meanwhile, six additional Africans joined the Council following elections in March: Jeremiah Nyaga, F.J. Khamisi, Justus Kandet ole Tipis, D.N. Mamo, T. arap Towett and Gikonyo Kiako. Kiako defeated Eluid Mathu, former leader of African representative members on the Council, 6,684 votes to 3,936.

● **DR. FELIX MUMUKI** and John Kale, respectively representing nationalist organizations in the French Cameroons and Uganda, have opened political offices in Cairo. Meanwhile, three Kenya Africans have returned to Cairo following a tour of the Soviet Union as guests of the Russian Government, according to the London Times.

● **INLAND STEEL PRESIDENT** Clarence Randall, Special Assistant to President Eisenhower for Foreign Economic Policy, returned this month from a two-week visit to Africa where he consulted with U.S. consular officials. --R.C.K.

CONFERENCE CALLS FOR AFRICAN INDEPENDENCE

(Continued From Page 1)

delegation, headed by Mohammed Yacid, New York representative of the Algerian National Liberation Front, and an exiled nationalist from the French Cameroons, Felix Moukoko, president of the Union des Populations Camerounaises, arrived unexpectedly on the opening day in the capacity of advisors to the Tunisian or United Arab Republic delegations. They were granted full hearings at the conference and their statements apparently were given considerable weight in the drafting of resolutions relating to France. Seven of the eight participating independent states border on French African territories.

The conference opened April 15 and ended April 22, a day ahead of schedule. Summarizing the mood in Accra, Prince Sahle Selassie Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, son of the Emperor, said in a closing statement: "Africa has spoken; it is for the rest of the world to respond." --R.C.K.

Soviet Scholars Embark On Major Program Of African Research

By CHRISTOPHER BIRD

© Africa Special Report, 1958

SOVIET RESEARCH on Africa is scheduled to expand enormously in the final years of this decade. Russian scholars are now hard at work on an African studies program that surpasses by far all previous Soviet efforts in the African field.

The program is coordinated within the USSR Academy of Sciences and enlists the cooperation of research specialists from most of the "social disciplines." Concentrating heavily on areas of tension and conflict in the African scene, the program is designed to fill "wide gaps" in Soviet knowledge and offer "moral support" to Africa's peoples.

Details of the program are revealed in Soviet periodicals which were published last year but have as yet received little attention abroad.

According to these Soviet sources, the ambitious African research program was first outlined late in 1956 at a conference in the Academy's Institute of Ethnography. The meeting was called expressly to "establish agreement for the plan of scientific-research work on Africa in the Institutes of the Soviet Academy of Sciences." It was attended by Russian ethnographers, orientalists, geographers, historians and specialists in world economy and international relations, including Africanists from Moscow and Leningrad and researchers from many other areas of the Soviet Union.

The conference charted the course of African studies through 1960 and was hailed as a milestone in the "co-ordination of Soviet scientific work on Africa."

The meeting was opened by I. I. Potekhin (pronounced Po-TAY-kin) a name to watch with regard to Soviet interest in Africa (see *Africa Special Report*, March 1958). Potekhin is a vice-director of the Institute of Ethnography and, as such, wields consid-

erable power both in policy planning and ideological control. His specialty is Africa.

The theme of his address was the importance of future Soviet studies in the history, economy, ethnography and geography of the continent.

During the first part of the conference three special papers were read by other Soviet Africanists including D. A. Ol'derogge (linguist and historian), G. E. Skorov (economist and political scientist), and I. P. Yastrebeva (from the Institute of Economy and International Relations). Potekhin himself presented a paper on the "nationality problem in Africa." Some of these papers will be analyzed in these columns at a future date.

The second part of the meeting was taken up with the "outlook for the future." Potekhin took the floor again to emphasize that the Soviet population was becoming more and more interested in Africa and that Africanists in the Academy "owed a debt" to an expanding circle of readers.

STATISTICS GIVEN

Figures revealed by Potekhin are a bibliographer's statistical dream. They give an almost too perfect idea of the amount of Russian work done on Africa from the time of its inception. For instance,

- Before the revolution, books and pamphlets published in Russia on Africa numbered 294. This figure averages out to about two publications per year if one starts with the first Russian work to appear in print: Kokovtsev's book, *A Description of the Archipelago and the Barbary Coast*, published in 1786.

- During the Soviet era, from 1917 to 1945, a total of 113 books and

brochures on Africa appeared, raising the average number of works published per year to four.

- From the end of World War II to 1956, 100 books and pamphlets on Africa were completed, or about ten per year. 32 of these were translations from foreign language works and 68 were original Soviet productions.

Even this amount is but a fraction of a percent when compared with the number of printed works on Africa available in Western European languages and English. But to judge from the works planned by the Soviets for release in the near future, it is evident that they are determined to step up the pace of their research.

Within the plan one topic is to be featured as the central core of interest: "The National-Liberation Movements in African Countries." Research will cover a broad spectrum of other topics, however, and the plan will be divided among seven sections.

SECTION 1: *History of Africa Before the Imperialist Partition.*

The following research works are scheduled for publication under this general heading:

- 1) History of the Culture of the Peoples of Western Sudan.
- 2) Arabian Colonization of East Africa.
- 3) Social Structure of Madagascar in the 19th Century.

Other works will include a compendium of Arabic sources on the history of medieval Africa. Work toward this goal has already been partially accomplished by members of the Leningrad branch of the Institute of Ethnography. Four volumes, each about

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fifty to sixty pages long, are scheduled for release in 1960.

Expounding on the rationale behind this section of the plan, Potekhin noted that an "inexcusably small number of studies on pre-colonial African peoples have thus far been undertaken," despite the fact that the period itself is of "great interest and political significance."

He also stated that Africans themselves will be taking more and more interest in their own past and added that together with "progressive scholars" from all over the world they must "give the lie" to "imperialist propaganda which has always maintained that Africans had no history of their own." Only Marxists, concluded the vice-director, can fulfill the task of "drawing up a framework of historical truth."

SECTION 2: *The Imperialist Partition and Re-Partition of Africa.*

At least five works will be included here:

- 1) The Congress of Berlin, 1884-1885.
- 2) Anglo-German Rivalry in East Africa During the Second Half of the 19th Century.
- 3) French Expansion in the Western Sudan During the Second Half of the 19th Century.
- 4) Essays on the History of the Struggle of the Zulu and the Khess Against Anglo-Boer Colonization.
- 5) The Struggle of the Mashona and the Matabele Against the Colonization of Rhodesia.

While stressing the "especially grave responsibility" of authors assigned to the above studies, Potekhin also pointed to the themes which they must bring out. Some of these are: the expansion of "land-grabbing" in Africa, the resistance of the masses against the encroachments of the colonialists, and the "unmasking" of falsehoods propagated by bourgeois historians on the "civilizing role of Europeans."

SECTION 3: *Ethnic Makeup of Africa.*

Books planned under this section will include:

- 1) The Ethnic Make-up of the Belgian Congo.
- 2) The Population of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.
- 3) Settlements and Dwellings of the Bantu People.
- 4) Essays on the Ethnography of Present-Day Ethiopia.
- 5) The Ethnic Make-up of Nigeria.
- 6) The Ethnic Make-up of Tanganyika.
- 7) The Ethnic Make-up of South West Africa.
- 8) The Ethnic Make-up of Angola and Mozambique.

In addition to the above, the Institute

Propaganda Line Unfolds

The Soviet press is giving a heavy workout currently to the idea that an "imperialist" America is out to displace her less powerful European allies in Africa, under the guise of anti-colonialism.

Russian propagandists, attempting to discredit U.S. activities on the African continent, evidently see a double advantage in the "displacement" thesis because it plays on the fears of both the African who wants no "new colonialism" and the European who does not want to see his position prematurely usurped.

Moscow's anti-U.S. line was put forth in detail April 11 in the newspaper Red Star:

"American imperialism is penetrating into Africa on an ever-larger scale. It is being done under the guise of anti-colonialism. U.S. politicians maintain that they are trying to render assistance to Africa in her national and social revival. But in reality, the United States is taking advantage of the weaker position of its competitors, Britain and France and is trying to replace them in Africa.

"The brutal aspect of U.S. imperialism, which is trying to spread its paw over all of Africa, is hidden under the guise of anti-colonialism. U.S. capital has already occupied firm positions in various regions of Africa. The greedy hands of U.S. monopolists are reaching for the Sahara oil.

"Africa plays an important role in U.S. military plans. And now when the Soviet Union has the ICRM at its disposal, NATO leaders attach more and more importance to African territory. The African people realize the mortal danger of U.S. imperialism, new pretender to supremacy in Africa."

MOSCOW RADIO BEGINS DIRECT BROADCASTS TO AFRICA

Soviet propaganda efforts were intensified this month with the inauguration of broadcasts direct to Africa from radio Moscow. A half-hour program was initiated April 19 in English and French on the 16, 19 and 25 meter band (7 a.m. Greenwich time), and plans were announced for additional broadcasts later on in African languages. The broadcasts are Moscow's first to be beamed specifically for African consumption, and appear from their shortness and unfavorable timing to be in an experimental stage, according to information specialists in Washington.

* * *

RUSSIAN PRESS and radio services reported at length on the Accra Conference this month. Moscow hailed the African "struggle for national liberation" and accused "American, British and French imperialist circles" of viewing the conference with "anxiety and fear" because of the encouragement it would give to independence movements throughout the continent.

The Peking newspaper Ta Kung Pao followed a similar tack in an editorial April 15.

--R.C.K.

of Ethnography's Sector for Ethnic Cartography will prepare a detailed ethnic map of the African Continent.¹

SECTION 4: *The Economic Situation and the National - Liberation Movements in Africa after World War II.*

This is the "most important" section of the plan and includes at least twenty titles, some of which are:

- 1) Economic Development and the Struggle of the Peoples of Nigeria Against Imperialist Enslavement After World War II.
- 2) Economic Development and the Struggle of the Peoples of

French West Africa Against Imperialist Rule After World War II.

- 3) Liberia Under the Oppression of American Monopolies.
 - 4) The National-Liberation Movement in Uganda After World War II.
 - 5) Basic Questions Relating to the Socio-Economic Development of the Belgian Congo After World War II.
 - 6) The Peoples of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia in the Struggle for National Independence.
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7) Socio-Economic Changes and English Colonial Policy in British Africa.

8) The Peasant Question in Egypt. Commenting on this section, Potekhin criticized the leading fault of books on Africa produced to date by Soviet economists and historians, i.e., their concentration on external relations of various African areas with the European "metropolises." What is necessary, affirmed Potekhin, is to orient the studies to bring out all the features of the present-day life of African peoples and those socio-economic processes best adaptable to African societies.

A first step toward fulfilling the above, Potekhin continued, is to complete a series of studies on African villages. It is wrong, he claimed, to speak of "the African peasantry" as has been done in the past, for no such general category actually exists. Because the process of disintegration of the African peasantry is proceeding so rapidly, the African village, a crazy-quilt of variegated socio-economic relationships (including feudal, capitalist and clan), is torn with class conflict. Therefore, Potekhin stressed, the study of these relationships is at once the most difficult yet by far the most important task for Soviet economists (author's stress).

Potekhin went on to say that work in this section of the plan also demands ethnographic knowledge. Because of this, the cooperation of economists and ethnographers would prove most fruitful, and in fact is nearly indispensable.

STUDY POLITICAL CHANGES

The Institute of Ethnography vice-director noted other themes to be given special attention while the studies are in progress. The first of these will be a careful analysis of the political changes in African countries during the past decade. Another is the birth and development of new social forces that have opposed themselves to colonialism. Especially significant with regard to this latter is the fact that not a single work has been written illustrating how the working-class, the national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia have entered the political arena. Finally, the internal and external policies of the national bourgeoisie which has come to power in new nations such as Egypt, Sudan, Morocco and Ghana is a topic demanding careful analysis.

SECTION 5:

This will include the preparation of two large works:

- 1) The History of the Sudanese Republic.
- 2) Peoples of the Gold Coast in their Struggle for Independence.³

SECTION 6: African Philology.

An African philological group was formed in 1956 in the Leningrad

Branch of the Institute of Ethnography. It has been making systematic studies of African languages and literatures. One of the most important theoretical works to be written within this section of the plan is "An Introduction to the Study of African Languages," by Professor Ol'derogge.

Two dictionaries are to appear soon: Swahili-Russian and Hausa-Russian. A new Arabic-Russian dictionary (Egyptian dialect)² is also planned. Other works to be completed include:

- 1) Essays on the Folklore and Literature of the Southern African Bantu.
- 2) On the Origins and Spread of the Swahili Language.
- 3) Essays on Swahili Syntax.
- 4) Essays on the History of Contemporary Egyptian Literature.

SECTION 7: Geography.

Studies to be made by the Institute of Geography of the USSR Academy of Sciences are to include:

- 1) The Physical Geography of Africa.
- 2) Morocco—Natural Environment and Economy.
- 3) Egypt—Natural Environment and Economy.
- 4) The Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

While the Soviet research plan was generally hailed at the conference, overlappings were criticized by M. B. Gornung of the Institute of Geography who showed that while the Institute of Oriental Studies was planning to undertake a study on the "Increase of the Role of African Raw Materials in the System of Present-Day Imperialism," it has also planned "The Role of African Raw Materials and Human Resources in World War II." And while the Institute of Economy and International Relations has "The Peoples of Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia in the Struggle for National Independence" on the agenda, the Institute of Oriental Studies is planning two nearly parallel works: "The Formation of the Independent State of Tunisia" and "The Imperialist Struggle in North Africa on the Eve of and During World War II." Gornung cited these examples of "an irrational use of forces," and stated that such errors could be corrected through the establishment of a central planning body for African studies.

FIELD WORK PLANNED

The conference also proposed the organization of a series of field-expeditions to the continent of Africa itself, to be made up from specialists in geography, philology, ethnography, economy and history. If these are carried out, they will mark an entirely new development in the Soviet approach to the study of foreign areas, for until recently, no scholars were permitted to make field trips abroad.⁴

In closing the conference, the scientists expressed the hope that their combined efforts would 1) "fill wide gaps in Soviet Africanist Literature" and 2) "offer moral support to the peoples of Africa." These twin goals are as brief and clear statements of the pure and applied aspects of Soviet study on Africa as can be found.

It will be interesting to see whether the academicians will be able to bring such an ambitious plan to completion. If they do, they will have produced finished research works on every important geographical section of Africa.

These works are sure to provide western scholars with considerable insight into Soviet thinking on Africa at the present time. Of specific interest will be current attitudes on:

- the role of "bourgeois" leaders in the new nations
- the roles of various ethnic groups in the "national-liberation movements" and the future formation of independent units on the African continent
- the analysis of the role of various classes now forming in African society
- economic outlook and others

Of even greater interest, perhaps, will be the results of Soviet observation in the field and the reactions of Africans to the scholars from Soviet Russia. No doubt Africans will be presenting their own views on the Soviet academic approach to their continent and its peoples.⁵

The Soviet academic plan for Africa has moved onto a higher plateau of development. From our knowledge of the general coordination of the Soviet programs along several fronts of endeavor, we can also expect Soviet efforts in diplomatic, economic, political and other fields to supplement the projected work of the scholars.

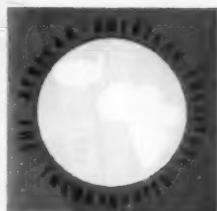
¹ This should be finished and will probably be available soon in the United States. A large Soviet political map of Africa was published in 1955 under the title, *AFRIKA, Politicheskaya Karta* (AFRICA, Political Map), in color, scale 1:8,000,000, dimensions about 4 x 5 feet.

² Probably to be written by Potekhin himself who has recently done field work in Ghana.

³ This may be *Arabo-Russkii Slovar'* (Arabic-Russian Dictionary), 33,000 words, Prof. Baranov, ed. Moscow, 1957, 1188 pp.

⁴ In addition to Potekhin's trips to Egypt (1956) and Ghana (1957), Soviet ethnographers and orientologists have travelled to Burma and India.

⁵ Mr. Bird invites Africans and other readers to send their impressions of Soviet academic activities, particularly those gained on visits to the USSR or in meetings with Soviet specialists in Africa. Correspondence may be addressed in care of this publication.—Ed.



African Placement Service

There are several vacancies in teaching posts at the University College of Ghana. These include:

- two appointments for lectureships in education
- zoology, with a concentration in marine zoology
- social administration
- geology, for the teaching of mineralogy and petrology
- agricultural entomology
- assistant lectureship in sociology, with a concentration in social psychology
- chair in education

The applicants for these university positions will be screened and final appointments made by the United Kingdom's Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas. However, further information may be obtained from Mr. William Tsitsiwi, Educational Attache, Embassy of Ghana, 2139 R St., N.W., Wash., D. C.; or from the Institute Placement Service.

Several openings exist at the University of Khartoum, Sudan. For full information on these vacancies, write to the Placement Service, Dept. B-12, African-American Institute, 1234 20th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.—R. J. Smyke.

"Africa Special Report" is published by the African-American Institute, a private, non-profit organization incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia and devoted to establishing closer bonds between the peoples of Africa and the United States. Other activities of the Institute include scholarship programs, teacher placement in Africa, and a variety of lecture, information and visitor services.

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Visitors

FROM GHANA, here on U.S. State Department grants: MR. K.B. AYENSU, Clerk of Parliament, to observe methods of U.S. government; MR. G.A. Balogun, General Secretary of the National Union of Ghana Oil Workers, to observe labor activities in the U.S. and Puerto Rico; MR. W.B. VAN LARE, to observe the U.S. legal system.

FROM SOMALIA: MR. GIAMMA GHANI, provincial governor of the northern province, and MR. GELANI SCEK, president of the opposition party. Both are in the U.S. to observe methods of local government. Sponsoring agency: Educational Exchange Service, U.S. Dept. of State.

FROM THE FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND: SIR ROBERT TREDGOLD, Chief Justice and former Governor General, touring the U.S. on a State Department grant.

FROM ANGOLA: MR. ENRICO DE PAULA FERREIRA DA COSTA, Editor of *Diário de Luanda* and Head of the Luanda Chamber of Commerce, and the first Angolan to travel to the United States on a State Department grant. Major interest here: American newspapers and journalism.

Recent Lectures:

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Britain's Permanent Representative to the United Nations Trusteeship Council and former Governor of Uganda, spoke on "Reflections on the Emergence of Africa" in Washington, March 31. MISS VIOLAINE JUNOD, from South Africa, in the U.S. on a six month sabbatical from the University of Natal, where she is an anthropologist in Bantu studies, spoke on "The Indian Community in South Africa" in Washington, April 17. Both lectures were part of a series sponsored jointly by the African-American Institute and the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University.

Recent Publications

FEDERAL NIGERIA, a new illustrated newsletter published by the Government of the Federation of Nigeria, reports the highlights of the fast-growing country's activities. It may be obtained free from the Nigeria Liaison Office, 506 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, D. C. The Liaison office also has released a bibliography of recent writings about Nigeria, intended as an introductory guide to those interested in the country's political and economic development. The list includes recent books, pamphlets, periodicals and government publications.

CONTACT is a new bi-weekly liberal magazine published in Cape Town, South Africa, launched by a newly formed private company, Selemela Publications. Alan Paton, a member of the board of directors, has a column in the magazine. Address subscription requests to Circulation Manager, CONTACT, P. O. Box 3618, Cape Town, South Africa. Overseas rate: £1 3s. 6d. yearly.

PAGEANT OF GHANA, by Freda Wolfson, Oxford University Press (Oxford, England), 1957; 116 pages, 30/. These selected writings describe West African life, drawing on the description of travellers as well as people indigenous to the area and dating

from the earliest European contact. The three periods into which the book is divided cover 1471-1800, during which most European eye-witnesses clung to the coast; 1800-1870, when Ashanti was opened up and missionary activity was high; and 1900-1957, the period of modern Ghana. The book is one of a series sponsored financially by West African Newspapers, Ltd., on the history of West Africa.

THE POLITICS OF INEQUALITY, South Africa Since 1948, by Gwendolyn M. Carter, Frederick A. Praeger (New York), 1958; 535 pages, \$7.50. A political study of South Africa from the time the National Party came into office in 1948. The author obtained material for the book on a Rockefeller Foundation study grant to South Africa in 1952-1953.

FILM: "The Mark of the Hawk" starring Eartha Kitt, Sidney Poitier, and Juano Hernandez, Universal Pictures, 1957. American Negro actors star in an English movie filmed in Nigeria but meant to be any colony in Africa where the urge for self-rule has come alive. The plot involves a Christian missionary and an African newly elected to the legislature.

business notes

A SIX WEEK INVESTIGATION of the extent of trade union freedom in Central and East Africa will be made by a mission of labor leaders under the auspices of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the results will be reported at the ICFTU Executive Board meeting in July. The delegation will visit the Rhodesias, Tanganyika, Kenya and Uganda, concentrating on trade union legislation, administration and other relevant factors there. ICFTU said in a recent news release that "it has been widely reported" that there are "many restrictions" on trade union activities in these territories.

GENERAL MOTORS OVERSEAS OPERATIONS (of America) will deliver 18 BHP diesel electric mainline locomotives to the Nigerian Railway Corporation in 1958 at a total sale of over \$3.6 million. Nigeria already has 10 English electric diesel locomotives, brought into service in 1955.

THREE AMERICAN SPECIALISTS have arrived in Kenya to assist in agricultural projects financed jointly by the Kenya Government and the U.S. International Cooperation Administration (ICA). Agricultural projects account for about half of the \$3.5 million allocated to Kenya by ICA in response to Kenya Government requests approved by the British Colonial Office.

AN AMERICAN FIRM is negotiating a contract with Portugal for exclusive oil prospecting and exploration rights in Portuguese Guinea, according to the Portuguese Overseas Minister who has returned from a recent on-the-spot study of prospecting conditions there.

SOME 30 REPRESENTATIVES of German industry and banking, as well as the Federal Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Economy, and Finance, took part in debates at a recent German conference on investment in Africa. The conference was organized by a German firm of African studies, "Afrika Gesellschaft", and was directed by the President of the Federal Parliament, Mr. Eugene Gestermaier, in his capacity as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the firm.

THE U.S. BUREAU OF PUBLIC ROADS is managing a new \$40 million highway development program for Ethiopia, to cover a 70,000 square mile area in the fertile west-central and Lake Tana regions where roads will most help expand Ethiopia's economy. Funds for the project are being provided by a \$15 million loan from the International Bank and \$28 million put up by the Ethiopian government. International bids for construction will be invited.

THE BELGIAN CONGO is offering bonds in the United States for the first time. An investment banking group led by Dillon Read & Co., Inc., is managing the \$15 million 15-year External Loan Bond issue. Funds will be used to further a billion dollar ten-year plan for social and economic development in the Congo.

UGANDA'S EXPORTS to the United States increased sharply in 1957 to more than \$25 million, compared with \$10 million in 1956, making America a very close second to Uganda's principal customer, the United Kingdom, which last year bought \$27.3 million worth of Uganda produce as against \$26.6 million in 1956. Uganda's chief exports are coffee and cotton.

A MISSION from the Federal Government of Nigeria is expected to be asked to visit Washington shortly to work out final arrangements on a World Bank loan of up to £10 million to help finance a £20 million road extension project to Maiduguri in northeastern Nigeria, reports Africa Economic Newsletter.

THE FORD FOUNDATION has granted funds to the International African Institute to set up four international seminars in tropical Africa between 1958-61. The seminars will study social research problems of significance for further social, economic and educational development in Africa and will provide closer contact for research workers and other scholars in Africa, Europe and America. Universities in East Africa, West Africa and Southern Africa will be hosts to the seminar groups.

THE FIRST GHANAIAN CURRENCY will be put into circulation next July, according to the Ghana Embassy in Paris, reports Africa South of the Sahara.

THE ASHANTI GOLD FIELDS CORPORATION has placed an order with a Transvaal firm of engineering suppliers in one of Ghana's first orders for heavy equipment from the Union of South Africa, reports Africa South of the Sahara. The equipment is for the corporation's gold-extracting plant and most of it will be manufactured in the Union.

--S.A.B.

